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improving the social and living conditions of the people. He defines the Monroe Doctrine as a means for protection only. Recognizing the untold wrongs during the past few years suffered by the people of the United States at the hands of Mexico, he pointed out that the United States has patiently tried to avoid armed intervention. No nation, he has said, will profit by endeavoring to grasp the economic resources of the country by means of spheres of influence or any other means. "All must have an equal chance." Recognizing the difficulties due to differences of race, language, and customs, he advises Japan to avoid excitement over California, and not to take too seriously the loud talk and attitude of American jingoes. We are able to quote from one of his speeches the following:

"The talk of war between Japan and the United States is futile and absurd. The mutual advantages of trade make war impossible. Imagine the difficulties in the path of a Japanese army in the event of an attempt to penetrate the interior of the United States. The difficulty would be as great for an American army to attempt the invasion of Japan. Differences must be considered in the spirit of concession. Neither social nor economic progress can ever be made without concessions.

"I hope that the relations between the two nations on either side of the Pacific, representing the highest development of Occidental and Oriental civilization, will continue peaceful, and that the peculiar conditions that brought the two nations together 50 years ago will continue a long and lasting friendship."

Mr. Burton is rendering a service to the cause of right-thinking in a field sorely in need of just that kind of thinking. If only Japan and America can know the essential facts, there can arise no irremediable differences between them.

THE COSTS OF THE WAR

THE volume on "Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War," by Professor Bogart, just published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is one of much value, an arsenal of dreadful facts with which to arm combatants in "the war against war," and a collection of data upon which philosopher and economist, king and peasant, tax-paying bourgeoisie and power-coveting proletariat, all may concentrate thought to their profit. For its swift marshaling of these facts and wide dissemination of them the Endowment deserves more adequate recognition than it is likely to get.

Keeping in mind the fact that post-armistice national expenditures in some countries have nearly equaled those of the war period, and that this volume's data cover a period up to, but not beyond, the militant period in the Entente-German war, what are some of the conclusions of the compiler? It is shown that the real economic direct cost was \$244,000,000,000. The total death roll

for all belligerent countries approximated 10,000,000, whereas the total losses of the nineteenth century's wars was but 4,449,300. If to the known killed there be added 50 per cent of those officially listed as "prisoners or missing," but fairly presumed to be dead, the total death roll of the late conflict reaches the terrible total of 12,991,000. Of seriously wounded there have not been less than 6,000,000, and of persons suffering lesser casualties a sufficient number to make the total 20,297,551, of whom nearly 45 per cent have had normality restored and 52 per cent their ability reduced. Using standards of economic valuation of life that have been agreed upon with some degree of unanimity by experts, Professor Bogart estimates that the soldiers lost in the war were worth, in the economic sense, \$33,551,276,280. Add to this an equal sum, the capitalized value of civilian life lost by disease, malnutrition, massacre, etc., and in addition a property loss of \$29,960,000,000, and it begins to appear why the masses who furnish the fighters are in revolt and why old systems of tenure of property rights are passing, new systems of taxation are emerging, and the best-informed students of the situation are predicting that this winter for Europe and the Near East will be worse in human suffering, famine, and revolt than any they endured during the war. The wind has been sown. The whirlwind is being reaped, and innocent non-belligerent nations and peoples are victims as well as those directly responsible. Man cannot pile up the "incomprehensible and appalling" total of direct and indirect cost of war to the sum of \$337,946,179,657 and lose, approximately, 13,000,000 lives without treading the edge of a moral and economic abyss and without facing political hurricanes.

Yet such is the record of history, past and near, that when certain passions are aroused, certain loyalties appealed to, certain memories of aboriginal customs recalled, certain ambitions for power and dominion stimulated either by pride or land hunger, nations do not allow the "costs" of war to deter them from waging it. Apparently Europe and the world are not to be checked by the size of the bill noted above from proceeding along the old lines. The year since the armistice was signed indicates no adequate moral revulsion by humanity against the record of 1914-19, no sincere determination of peoples who have lost millions of men and billions of wealth to quit relying on force or to quit coveting territory. It is this reaction upon the awful array of facts amassed by Professor Bogart that makes idealists despair and breeds the temper among worldings, reflected in the orgies of Berlin, Paris, London, and New York, who first profiteer and then plunge hellward, saying, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die"—or go to the poor-house.